

On a new Copper-plate Grant of Dharmapāla.—By UMES CHANDRA
BATAVYAL, I. C. S.*

(With Plate III.)

[Read, April, 1894.]

The copper-plate inscription, recording a grant of four villages by king Dharma Pāla to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, of which a transcript and an English translation are annexed, was discovered by me in the month of November, 1893, at Khālimpur, near Gauṛ, in the District of Malda. An illiterate Muhammadan cultivator found it in a paddy field, at the northern extremity of the village, while employed in ploughing it, about two years ago. He is since dead. The Plate was with his widow, Mōrī Bēwā. I have purchased it from her.

The importance of this copper-plate to all students of Indian History, and particularly to Brāhmins and Kāyasthas in Bengal, who trace their descent from the five Brāhmins and the five Kāyasthas of Kannauj invited to this country by king Ādiçūra, cannot be over-estimated; while to those among the Bengal Brāhmins, who claim their descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa himself, the interest attaching to the record is that of a piece of family history.

It is, so far as I know, the oldest copper-plate grant of the Pāla dynasty yet discovered. Unfortunately it only gives the date of the grant, “In the year of the king’s reign,” and leaves the date of the reign itself in uncertainty. The latter is yet more or less conjectural.

General Cunningham assigned to Gōpāla, father of Dharma Pāla, the latter part of the 8th century of the Christian Era; while Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra placed him nearly a century later. I think the former estimate to be the more correct. The Lāhiris, among the Bārēndra Brāhmins, who claim their descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, have preserved a genealogical record which shows that Pītāambar Lāhiri, the contemporary of Ballāla Sēna, was 14th in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Taking Pītāambar as alive in 1150 A. D., and giving 25 years to

* [Owing to the importance of the copper-plate grant it has been thought advisable to publish Mr. Batavyal’s paper as it stands, without delay. ED.]

each generation, we obtain 800 A. D., as the date of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. This closely agrees with Cunningham's conclusions deduced from other sources of information.

The date of the copper-plate record, may, therefore, be roughly put down, in the present state of our knowledge, as 800 A.D. It is thus nearly 1100 years old.

In external appearance it closely resembles the Plate of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, described on page 217, Volume II., of Rājendra Lāla Mitra's "*Indo-Aryans*," though it is older than the latter.¹

The Plate is about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch thick, and is oblong in shape, and has 33 lines of inscription in front, and 29 lines on the reverse. The whole has been deciphered by myself. In one or two places the reading is a tentative one—subject to revision: but upon the whole it may be taken as a correct re-production. The letters mark the stage of the transition of the Dēvanāgarī into the Bangālī. Some of the strokes are obsolete at the present day.

The current traditions about Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa were a puzzle to the historical student in more respects than one. According to some writers, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was invited to Bengal by king Ādiçūra: but according to the older genealogists—as for instance the famous *Dēvīvara*, the contemporary of *Caitanya*,—the name of the Brāhman of the Çāṇḍilya *gōtra*, who came at the invitation of Ādiçūra, was Kṣitiçā. Then, again; while some writers state that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Ādiçūra, and place Ādiçūra in the end of the 10th century of the Çāka Era, another tradition makes Ādigāñ Ōjhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, a contemporary of king Dharma Pāla, who, as we have seen, lived at the end of the 8th century of the Christian Era. This last tradition² says that king Dharma Pāla made the grant

¹ It measures $1' 4\frac{3}{8}'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$ inches, and has a scalloped top of brass 7 inches high, and 4 inches long at the base, bearing what seems to be an impression of the royal seal. The centre of the top is enclosed in a ring of 4 circles, the innermost of which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the outermost 4 inches in diameter. Around these circles are six projections representing, probably, lotus petals, the two uppermost of which enclose what seems to be the effigy of a human head. The emblem in the centre is a wheel mounted on a stand, and supported by a deer *rampant* on each side.

Below this is written between two parallel lines *Çrīmān Dharmapāla Dēvaḥ*, and below this writing is a sprig formed of a flower and two leaves.

² It has been preserved in the genealogical record of the Lāhiris, to which allusion has been made above. It runs as follows:—

गुम्फोत्फुल्लास्य पद्मे स्फुरति सचकितं वेदवेदाङ्गवाणी
मानौ कीदण्डपाणिः पवनगतिहयः कौञ्चिकोष्णीष मौलिः ।

of the village Dhāmasāra on the bank of the Ganges to Ādigāñ Ōjhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and this specific statement has an appearance of authenticity about it. Its authenticity, however, is now confirmed by the copper-plate, at least incidentally; for we now know beyond doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Dharma Pāla, and his son Ādigāñ Ōjhā, too, appears to have been patronized by that king.

Up to date no authentic account of Ādiçūra has been obtained. The oldest writers on brāhmanical genealogy, whose writings have come down to us—I refer particularly to Hari Miçra and Ēru Miçra—place Ādiçūra shortly before the Pālas; and they state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmaṇas from Kannauj, the kingdom of Gauṛ became subject to the Pālas. These writers expressly mention Dēva Pāla, the successor of Dharma Pāla, as the most famous king of the Pāla dynasty, which succeeded the dynasty of Ādiçūra.¹

Now this account seems to be borne out by the evidence of the copper-plate,

कण्ठे श्रीशैलचक्रं मलयजतिलकैरेति कोलाच्च देशात्
साक्षान्नारायणश्रीः स निज परिकरैर्भट्टनारायणोऽयं ॥
राजा श्रीधर्मपालः सुखसुरधुणीतीरदेशे विधातुं
नाम्नादिगाञ्जीविप्रं गुणयुततनयं भट्टनारायणस्य ।
यज्ञान्ते दक्षिणार्थं सकनकरजतैर्धामसाराभिधानं
ग्रामं तस्मै विचित्रं सुरपुरसदृशं प्राददत्युष्णकामः ॥
शाण्डिल्यगीचजातानां वरेन्द्रेऽसौ द्विजन्मनां ।
आदिस्ततो जयमाणिर्भट्टोजज्ञे तु नन्दनः ॥

See p. 117 of “*Gaurē Brāhmaṇa*,” by Bābū Mahimā Chandra Mazumdār. Edition 1886.

¹ Thus Hari Miçra writes:—

क्ष्मापालप्रतिभूर्भूवः पतिरभूद् गौडे च राष्ट्रे ततः
राजाभूत् प्रवलः सदैव शरणः श्रीदेवपालस्ततः ।
प्रज्ञावाक्यविवेकशैलविनयैः शुद्धाशयः श्रीयतो
धर्मो चास्य मतिः सदैव रमते स स्त्रीयवंशीद्भवे ॥

See “*Viçva Kōṣa*” by Nāgēndra Nātha Ghōsh, article *Kulīna*, page 308. In this verse we have evidence that the religion of the Pālas was a mixture of the Vedic and the Buddhistic doctrines. In fact, a fusion of the two religions was taking place at this period, the result of which was the total absorption of the Buddhists in the ranks of the “Hindūs,” by which name the followers of the mixed religion came to be designated by their Musalmān conquerors.

According to this evidence, certain pious Brāhmaṇas of the *Lāṭa* country were already established in the territory of Paṇḍravardhana, as the guardians of a temple, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came to them as a friend.

To students of classical Sanscrit, *Lāṭa* is known as a seat of learning, which gave its name to a peculiar style of alliterative composition, known as *Lāṭ-ānuprāsa*. I think it was a district of Kannauj, the same as the country of *Kōlāñca*, of our tradition, whence the five Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal (then Puṇḍra) at Ādiçūra's invitation.¹

Thus the five Brāhmaṇas preceded Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa into this country by some time. They came at the invitation of the traditional Ādiçūra (that probably was his title) whose dynasty shortly afterwards was overthrown by the Pālas.

The Pālas are known in history as kings of Gauḍa. We are all familiar with the name of the great city of Gaur, the capital of Bengal down to the time of Akbar, of which the ruins² can still be seen in the district of Malda. But we are not equally familiar with the fact that in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era, there were, on the north of the Ganges, as many as five kingdoms, or principalities, of the name of Gauḍa, or Gaur, extending from Oudh (Ayōdhyā) on the west, to Puṇḍra, or Paṇḍravardhana on the east. These were collectively known as *Pañca Gauḍa*. The kings of these five Gauḍas had political relations with the great king of Kannauj on the west, sometimes even with the kings of Kāçmīr still further west, and with the king of Paṇḍravardhana on the east. Harṣavardhana, or Çilāditya, of Kannauj, the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang, is said to have invaded Gauḍa, and some of the kings of Kāçmīr also are recorded to have done the same thing and to have carried off a number of their people into Kāçmīr as captives. Then in the history of Kāçmīr we read of an interesting event. In the middle of the 8th century, a king of Kāçmīr, Jayāditya or Jayapīḍa, visited Paṇḍravardhana *incognito*. The king of Paṇḍravardhana, Jayanta, however, came to know who he was, and secured his friendship by giving him his daughter in marriage. With the assistance of his powerful son-in-law, king Jayanta, it is said, conquered the kings of the five Gauḍas.

It is conjectured by some writers that this Jayanta was no other than the Ādiçūra of our traditions. If there be any truth in the ac-

¹ [It has hitherto been considered as corresponding to central and southern Gujarāt, see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII (1893), p. 183. Ed.]

² To the east of the ramparts of the old city is an extensive swamp locally known as Bhatiār Bīl. The village of Khālimpur, where the copper-plate under notice was discovered, is on the eastern edge of this swamp.

counts of the early genealogical writers, who place the reign of Ādiçūra shortly before the rise of the Pāla dynasty, the conjecture would seem to be well founded.

We learn from the copper-plate that a time of great commotion and political turmoil preceded the rise of the Pāla dynasty. The country was torn with internecine war, and the people everywhere longed for a strong ruler who would restore peace and order. The sceptre of Çilāditya had fallen into weaker hands, and in the midst of these disorders Gōpāla rose to supreme power in Gauḍa, in the latter part of the 8th century, and was everywhere welcomed by the subject people as a great deliverer. By Gauḍa here we must understand the five Gauḍas, comprising North Bihār and Oudh. Gōpāla was succeeded by his son Dharma Pāla, who threw a bridge of boats across the Ganges, and with a host of cavalry, "Supplied by the many vassal kings of the North," overran the country on the south bank of the great river, and established himself at Pāṭalīputra. Towards the west his victories extended over Kannauj, which, it would seem, was at that time, reduced to a state of subjection to foreign princes, *viz.*, the Bhōjas, the Madras, &c., and which he liberated from them, restoring its king to his paternal throne.

The kingdom of Paundravardhana had, we find, become absorbed into the dominions of Dharma Pāla: for the villages to which the grant relates were all situated within that kingdom which now became part and parcel of Gauḍa.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the grantee, is well-known to the learned as the author of the drama *Vēṇī Saṁhāra*, the last great work of the imaginative art in classical Sanskrit, in point of time. The drama is largely quoted in the *Avalōka* of Dhanika—the commentator of the *Daça-rūpaka*—who according to Dr. Hall was living about the middle of the 10th century. At the end of this drama there is a verse, in which the poet deplores the decay of poetry in his age. The royal patrons of poetry he writes, "have flown away like swans."¹ Is this an allusion to Harṣa Vardhana, the royal patron of Bhaṭṭa Vāṇa? The *Vēṇī Saṁhāra*, itself, may be nothing more or less than a patriotic though covert appeal to the poet's countrymen, the Pāñcālas, to remember their disgrace, as the daughter of the old king of Pāñcāla, the heroine of the

¹ The entire verse runs as follows:—

काव्यालापसुभाषितव्यसनिनस्ते राजहंसागता-
स्ता गोष्यः क्षयमागता गुणलवञ्छाध्या न वाचः सतां ।
सालङ्कार-रस-प्रसन्न-मधुराकाराः कवीनां गिरः
प्राप्तः नाशम्—अथन्तु भूमिवलये जीयात् प्रवन्धो महान् ॥

Mahābhārata, remembered]her own disgrace at the hands of Duḥcāsana. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a learned man and a genius. But there was no reward for his learning, and no recognition of his genius in the land of his own birth. Some of his countrymen had gone to Paṇḍravardhana at the invitation of its king: and in search of fortune, he too, seems to have followed in their wake. Such, it seems to me, was the real history of this great Brāhman, the list of whose descendants in modern times includes such names as the late Rājā Rām Mōhan Rāy, the late Paṇḍit Īçvara Chandra Vidyāsāgar, the Mahārāja Sir Jōtēndra Mōhan Tagore, Kt., Bābū Hēm Chandra Banerjee, the poet, the Honorable W. C. Bonnerjee, the Advocate, the Honorable Dr. Guru Dās Banerjee, the judge, the Honorable Surēndra Nāth Banerji, the orator, and last, though not least, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mahēsa Chandra Nyāyaratna, C.I.E., one of the most eminent of our living Paṇḍits.

Having come into Paṇḍravardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa found a patron, not in Ādiçūra, as has been hitherto believed, but in one Nārāyaṇa Varman, who in the copper-plate grant is described as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, of Dharma Pāla. *Sāmanta* means a vassal prince or chief. Nārāyaṇa Varman would therefore seem to have been the head of the Imperial Department in which the Emperor's business relations with Sāmantas was transacted.

It was at the recommendation of Nārāyaṇa Varman that Dharma Pāla, while encamped at Pāṭalīputra, in the 32nd year of his reign, issued this copper-plate grant in favour of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. It was a princely gift which, valued in the currency of our day, would be worth more than a lakh of rupees, and shows in what great esteem the Bhaṭṭa was held in the land of his adoption. It is remarkable that the grant was made by a Buddhist king to a Brāhman, on the recommendation of a high officer of State whose name shows that he was a Kṣatriya.

For administrative purposes the territory of Paṇḍravardhana was divided into a number of *Maṇḍalas*, or circles: and these again were sub-divided into a number of *Viṣayas*. The copper-plate mentions the *Maṇḍalas* and the *Viṣayas* in which the four villages, the subject matter of the grant, were situated. There was a Record Office in each *Viṣaya*, the President of which was the *Viṣaya-pati*. Now it is most important to note that this officer had nothing to do with the collection of the revenues. The "Collector" appears in the copper-plate grant as the *Ṣaṣṭhādhipati*: and the "Magistrate" as the *Daṇḍa-çakti*. The *Viṣayapati* was the keeper of the Revenue Records of his charge: he was in fact the officer who under the Muhammadans became the *Qānungo*. The head ministerial officer of the *Viṣaya* office, was the *Jyēṣṭhākāyastha*; and the *Viṣayapati*, it would seem, took cognizance of all

judicial questions relating to land and land revenue. Under him was an officer, named *Dāçagrāmika*, or the superintendent of ten villages: which shows that there was a further administrative sub-division of ten-village groups, the village, or *grāma*, being then, as now, the lowest unit in the chain of administrative division.

The office of the *Jyēṣṭha-kāyastha* shows that there were inferior *Kāyasthas*, or writers (or *Paṭwārīs*, as we now call them), in the villages within the jurisdiction of the *Viṣaya*.¹ In other words, *Kāyasthas* must have been numerous in Bengal when Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came. Thus the tradition about the *Kāyasthas* of Bengal being the descendants of the five *Kāyastha* servants of the five *Kānnaujiā* Brāhmans now seems to be a pure myth. It may be true that Ādiçūra invited five Brāhmans as well as five *Kāyasthas* from the civilized and advanced province of Kannauj, to introduce spiritual and secular reforms in Bengal; but it does not follow that at that time there were no Brāhmans or no *Kāyasthas* in Bengal at all.

As regards the territory of *Paṇḍravardhana*, or *Puṇḍra*, there can be no doubt that originally it meant North Bengal, and may have included *Baṅga* proper, or Eastern and Deltaic Bengal also. The capital was at the place now occupied by the extensive ruins of *Paṇḍuā*, properly *Pārṇuā*, in the district of *Maldah*, on the east of the *Mahānanda*. A great branch of the Ganges (now known as the *Kālindī*) originally joined the *Mahānanda* river, close to the ancient city of *Puṇḍra*, which being thus at the confluence of two great rivers rapidly rose in wealth and power. It existed as the capital of an independent kingdom down to the latter part of the 8th century, when, as the copper-plate shows it became absorbed in the dominion of the *Pālas*. A new and a rival capital on the west bank of the *Mahānanda*, near its junction with the *Kālindī*, appears to have arisen under the *Pālas*, or shortly before the rise of that dynasty, and this ultimately became the *Gaur* of Muhammadan history.

In the district of *Malda* we still have an important caste called *Puṇḍarī*, or *Pūrā*, the members of which were returned at the last census at 9,000 in round numbers. They seem to be the descendants of the ancient *Puṇḍras*—at one time the ruling caste in the country. They are a pushing race, numbering in their ranks pleaders, Government clerks, money-lenders, and traders. Many of them work as rearers of silk-worms and weavers of silken fabrics. They form a rich and influential caste; but even to this day they have not succeeded in securing the services of pure Brāhmans as priests. They have a quarter of their own in the town of *English-bazār*, known as '*Pūrātulī*'.

¹ These inferior officers are the *Karaṇas* of the copper-plate.

Dharma Pāla's successors after a time seem to have been driven more and more towards the East, as Kannauj, we find, gradually recovered much of its lost ground. The last king of the Pāla dynasty—according to a Sanskrit Manuscript which I have unearthed from the Muhammadan Mosque at Paṇḍuā,—was *Rāma Pāla*, and the manuscript gives the date of his death, as the year 922 of the Çaka Era. I think this is a mistake for 977 Çaka Era, which would correspond to 1055 A. D. The wording of the chronogram is शाके युग्म-रेणु रन्ध्रगते (written in Bangālī character)—where रेणु I think, is a clerical mistake for वेणु.¹

This slight clerical mistake being corrected, the result is 977 Çaka. Thus the Pālas reigned for nearly three centuries : at first over a wide empire spreading from the borders of Kannauj to East Bengal, but latterly over Northern and Eastern Bengal mainly, with their capital very near to the present town of English-bazār, where the remains of the palace of Ballāla Sēna are still pointed out. The Muhammadan city of Gauṛ sprung up a little to the south of the old Hindū capital.

TRANSLATION.

PROSPERITY—

May the Ten Forces of Vajrāsana,² who has steadfastly accepted omniscience as the greatest good, protected by the Great Queen, Benevolence, and victorious over the ten quarters of the globe, where numerous hosts of Māras are seen,—protect you !

¹ The *Clōka* containing this date (as corrected above) runs thus :—

शाके युग्म-वेणु-रन्ध्र-गते कन्यां गते भास्करे
 छय्ये वाक्पतिवासरे यमतिथौ यामद्वये वासरे ।
 जाङ्ग्यां जलमध्यतस्वनशनैर्ध्यात्वा पदं चक्रिणो
 द्वा पालान्वयमौलिभण्डनमणिः श्रीरामपालो मृतः॥

Chapter XI of the MS. वेणु is a flute, expressing the 7 notes of the gamut. It thus stands for 7. युग्म-वेणु yields 77. रन्ध्र refers to the 9 openings of the human body, and thus stands for 9. Following the principle अङ्गस्य वामा गतिः the whole thing means 977. The exact date, as above given, is year 977 Çaka : month *Kārttika* (when the sun enters the sign of *Virgo*) : the 14th day of the waning moon. Thursday : noon.

² Vajrāsana is a name of the Buddha. The Ten Forces are thus enumerated : * Charity, good character, mercy, bravery, meditation, prudence, strength, means of performance, attention, and knowledge. The *Māras* are the evil passions personified.

* दानशील-क्षमा वीर्य-ध्यान-प्रज्ञा बलानि च ।

उपायः प्रणिधिज्ञानं दश बुद्धबलानि वै ॥

Dayitaviṣṇu, adorned with all kinds of learning, was the progenitor of the excellent race of *Avanipālas*, just as the ocean is the progenitor of the beautiful Goddess *Çrī*, and as the moon is the progenitor of that light which delights the whole earth.

From him sprung *Çrī Vapyata*, the highly honoured, the successful, who overthrew his enemies, and adorned the earth as far as the sea with great deeds.

His son was *Çrī Gōpāla*, the crown jewel on the head of all rulers of the earth. The subjects made him take the hand of *Lakṣmī*,¹ to put an end to the practice of fishes. Even the whiteness of the full-moon night but faintly imitates, in the several quarters of the globe, the splendour of his great and lasting reputation.

Even as *Rōhiṇī* is of the moon, and *Svāhā* is of the resplendent God of Fire, as *Çarvāṇī* is of *Çiva*, and *Bhadra* is of *Kuvēra*, as *Çaci* is of *Indra*, and as *Lakṣmī* is of *Viṣṇu*—so was *Çrī Dēdda Dēvī*, the daughter of the king of the *Bhadras*, the Queen of that Lord of Earth, in whose company he sought for the relaxation of his mind.

From these two sprung *Çrī Dharmapāla*, honoured by hosts of good men. The Lord of all Rulers of Earth, alone he ruled over the circle of the whole earth. The four oceans—the ditches of the earth, whose shores bear the foot-prints of his war elephants plunging into their waters, even they cannot stop his march, when he goes forth to conquer the four quarters.

When with exuberant glee his armies move to conquer the four quarters of the globe, and the earth in consequence loses her balance, as if with her mountains moving to and fro, the Snake-god *Çēṣa*, underneath the Earth with his circle of heads, smarting under the great pressure, which makes the jewels sink in their sockets, has to follow his march with uplifted hands.

When his armies depart, and with their movements fill all the regions of the sky with heaps of dust, the Earth grows extremely light, and the hoods of the Snake-god, with their jewels emerging again, feel a great relief.

When he invades a hostile territory, his anger burns like the ocean fire, unquenchable, knowing no other limit than the four seas.

There were great rulers of the earth in ancient times, such as *Pr̥thu*, *Rāma*, the descendant of *Raghu*, *Nala*, and so forth. The Creator wish-

¹ To 'take the hand of *Lakṣmī*' is to assume the sovereign power. 'Practice of fishes' means civil war, where men kill each other as one fish devours another. It would appear that *Gōpāla*'s father, *Vapyata*, was a chief of some sort, but *Gōpāla* himself became a great king, and put an end to the anarchy and civil war which then distracted Northern India.

ing to see all of them put together, has in the Kali-yuga raised this pillar of a king, *Ṣrī Dharmapāla*, who has surpassed the honour and greatness of innumerable kings, to which the fickle Goddess of Prosperity, like a she-elephant, is tied for ever.

The God Indra, when suddenly he sees the ten quarters of the globe whitened by the dust raised by the vanguard of his army, and fancies it to be the approach of the army of Māndhātā, shuts his eyes and ponders. But there is no occasion to-day for his all-conquering arms rendering the assistance of his warlike troops to Indra.¹

Who, unto the king of Kannauj gave his own (the king's) golden coronation vessel, of excellent make, uplifted by the delighted elders of the Pāñcālas, the water wherefrom was all at the same time poured out by the kings of the Bhōjas, the Matsyas, the Madras, the Kurus, the Yadus, the Yavanas, the Avantis, the Gāndhāras and the Kīras, doing obeisance to him with their moving crowns while his own face bore the mark of beautiful quivering eyebrows.²

He constantly hears his praises sung by cowherds moving about in forests, while tending their cattle in the jungles on the out-skirts of villages; by the children playing in every house-court; by the keepers of the market-places; by the parrots in cages in the house of pleasure; and his face therefore is always downcast with modesty.

From his victorious encampment established at Pāṭaliputra, where a bridge constructed across the stream of the Bhāgīrathī, with boats of various kinds, is mistaken for the row of hills of the Sētubandha, where countless troops of war-elephants blackening the light of day, produce the impression of the rainy season; where the horizon is grey with the dust raised by the sharp hoofs of the hosts of cavalry contingents supplied by many kings of the North; where the earth sinks under the weight of the endless array of foot-soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvīpa assembled for rendering service to the highest amongst kings, the devout follower of Sugata, always thinking of the feet of the Mahārājādhirāja *Ṣrī Gōpāla Dēva*, the highest among kings, the highest among lords, the prosperous *Dharmapāla* (thus sayeth):—

¹ Māndhātā used to assist Indra in his war with the enemies of the Gods. The meaning of the text is that, under the sway of Dharmapāla, the enemies of the Gods had ceased to exist.

² I am indebted to Mr. Grierson for pointing out to me that, according to the Bhagalpur Copper-plate Grant of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, Dharmapāla conquered the Bhōjas, the Matsyas, the Madras, &c., and thereby liberated the Pāñcāla country. The meaning of the words *सललित-चलित-भ्रूलतालक्ष्ण* is somewhat obscure. I have construed it thus: *ललित-चलित-भ्रूलतालक्ष्णा सह यथा स्यात् तथा* making it thus an adverb to *दत्तः* ।

The village named *Krauñca-Çvabhra*, in the *Vişaya* of *Mahantā-prakāṣa*, in the *Maṇḍala* of *Vyāghrataṭi*, in the territory of *Puṇḍra Vardhana*.

Its boundary:—On the west, *Gaṅginikā*; on the north, *Kādambarī's* temple, and a date tree; on the north-east, the embankment constructed by the *Rājaputra Dēvaṭa*, extending to the grove of lemons; on the east, the embankment *Viṭaka*, extending to the artificial water-course; skirting the water-course lined with Jambu trees, the boundary line proceeds as far as the said water-course. Emerging thence it extends as far as the minor stream near the *Vilva* tree of the sacred grove emerging whence again * * * * * 1.

Also the village named *Māṭhā-Çāmmralī*.

Of this also the boundary on the north is *Gaṅginikā*; thence on the east, passing along the minor stream, is the water-course lined with mango trees, extending to the * * * * * water-course.² Emerging thence again on the south, is the village *Kālikā Çvabhra*. Emerging thence it goes so far as *Çrī-phalabhi-ṣuka* on the west, whence again, along the minor stream near the *Vilva* tree, it enters *Gaṅginikā*.

In the village *Pālitaka*, the boundary on the south is the *Kāṇā* island; on the east, the stream of the *Kaunviyā*; on the north, *Gaṅginikā*; on the west, the *Jainanyāyikā*: the said island (*Kāṇā*) is the burning-ground of this village.

The boundaries of village *Gōpippallī*, in the *Vişaya* of *Sthālikkaṭa*, in the *Maṇḍala* of *Āmraṣaṇḍikā*: On the east, the western boundary of the lands of *Uḍragrāma*; on the south, a marsh; on the west, an old river-bed named *Vaiṣānikā*; on the north, a cattle-path marking the boundary between it and *Uḍragrāma*.

To all (in authority) assembled in these four villages, *Rājas*,³ *Rājanyas*,⁴ *Rājaputras*,⁵ *Rājāmātyas*,⁶ *Sēnāpatīs*,⁷ *Vişayapatis*,⁸ *Bhōgapatis*,⁹ *Şaṣṭhādhikṛtas*,¹⁰ *Daṇḍaçaktis*,¹¹ *Daṇḍapāçikas*,¹² Cau-

¹ The translation of the boundaries of this village is to be taken as tentative.

² The text is here somewhat illegible.

³ *Rāja* = subordinate chiefs, who under the Muhammadaṅs became Zemindars.

⁴ *Rājanya* = the followers and dependants of *Rājas*.

⁵ *Rājaputra* = persons of royal lineage.

⁶ *Rājāmātya* = ministers of the king.

⁷ *Sēnāpati* = commanders of troops.

⁸ *Vişayapati* = presidents of the *Vişaya* office.

⁹ *Bhōgapati* = purveyors.

¹⁰ *Şaṣṭhā-dhikṛta* = collectors of revenue.

¹¹ *Daṇḍa-çakti* = magistrates.

¹² *Daṇḍa-pāçika* = executioners of sentences on criminals.

rōddharṇikas,¹ Dōssādhasādhanikas,² Dūtas,³ Khōlas,⁴ Gamāgamikābhitvaramānas,⁵ Hastyaçvagōmahīṣyajāvīkādhyaḥśas,⁶ Nākādhyakṣas,⁷ Valadhyakṣas,⁸ Tarikas,⁹ Çaulkikas,¹⁰ Gaulmikas,¹¹ all persons holding either temporary or permanent commissions, and other servants of the king not named herein of the Cāṭa¹² and Bhaṭa tribes: (in particular) to the Jyēṣṭha Kāyastha,¹³ Mahāmahattara,¹⁴ Dāçagrāmika,¹⁵ and other incumbents of the Viṣaya office, appointed from time to time, with all their subordinate writers and accountants,¹⁶ and to all resident cultivators: (to all persons above

¹ *Caur-ōddharṇika* = discoverers of thieves, or police officers.

Dōs-sādha-sādhanika = executors of all works to be done by manual labour, answering to Public Works officers of our day.

³ *Dūta* = political agents.

⁴ *Khōla* = ? spies. (The word means a lame man; in vulgar language it also means a jackal.)

⁵ *Gamāgamikā-bhitvaramāna* = the expediter of messengers: the head of the staff of peons.

⁶ *Hasty-açva, &c.* = superintendent of elephants, horses, kine, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

⁷ *Nākā-dhyakṣa* = chiefs of police stations. (This is conjectural; the word *Nākā* is locally used to denote a police out-post.)

⁸ *Valā-dhyakṣa* = Commander-in-Chief of land forces.

⁹ *Tarika* = commander of naval forces.

¹⁰ *Çaulkika* = customs officers.

¹¹ *Gaulmika* = commanders of garrisons or military stations.

¹² *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* seem to have been menial officers of the Intelligence Department, who moved about the country for collecting secret information and became in course of time the pests of society. The word *Cāṭa* became the synonym for a deceiver.

¹³ *Jyēṣṭha Kāyastha* = the head-writer, or head ministerial officer of the *Viṣaya* office.

¹⁴ The word *Mahattara* seems to be twice engraved by mistake. The *Mahattara* was the officer whose name still survives in the grants known as *Mahāttran*.

¹⁵ *Dāçagrāmika* = superintendents of ten villages. The ten-village administrative divisions were included in the jurisdiction of the *Viṣayas*, which I think answered the same purpose as parganas under the Muhammadans.

¹⁶ The original for this is *sa-karaṇān*. *Karaṇa*, was but another name of *Kāyastha*, the great caste of Writers and Accountants under the Hindū kings, and of Paṭwārīs of our own times, from whose oppressive dealings and sharp practices the kings were particularly enjoined to protect their subjects. Thus we have an ancient text:

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पीडमाना प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थेभ्यो विशेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य ॥

About the identity of the *Karaṇa* with the *Kāyasthas* it may be noted, that in social gatherings of *Kāyasthas* now-a-days, it is customary first of all to salute

enumerated) the king, after paying his respects to the Brāhmaṇas,¹ conveys his greetings, sends his message, or issues his commands (as may be appropriate in each case) :—

Be it known unto you :—

Our Mahāsāmantādhipati,² Ṣrī Nārāyaṇa Varman, by the mouth of the Yavarāja Ṣrī Tribhuvana Pāla, the messenger, addresses us as follows :—

“ We, for increasing the merit of our father and mother, as well as of self have caused a House of God to be erected at *Ṣubhasthalī*. There have we established the God-guided Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, who came to visit the Brāhmaṇas of the *Lāṭa* country, whom we appointed as the guardians and worshippers of the said House of God.

“ For the performance of the offices of religion in the said House, may your Majesty be pleased to grant to the said Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa four villages, together with their markets, roads, and everything on the surface.”

Then we, in pursuance of his recommendation, have in the terms of his address, established and granted these above-written four villages, with markets, roads, and everything on the surface, as far as their respective boundaries, as also with everything above them, together with the ten *apacāras*, free of all tribute, and free from all coercive measures. May this grant last, like the pores of the earth, as long as the sun and the moon !

Wherefore, all of you, out of respect for the merit attaching to grants of lands, and out of fear of falling into the great hell that awaits those who deprive people of their lands, should respect this grant, after giving your assent to the same.³ And all resident cultivators are hereby commanded to submit to these orders, and to pay their appropriate rents, food supplies, and all other tributes (to the grantees).

Many kings, like Sagara and others, made grants of lands ; whoever rules the earth, at any one time, to him, for that time, belongs the merit of these grants.

Brāhmaṇas with the words **ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नमः**, and afterwards to salute *Kāyasthas* with **श्री करणेभ्यो नमः ।**

¹ The Brāhmaṇas, it must be remembered were the repositories of the law in those days: whence their mention here.

² The *Sāmantas* were the subordinate chiefs under the Hindū kings. A royal officer, superintended the king's business relations with his *Sāmantas*: and it was this officer, whose title was the *Mahā-sāmantā-'dhipati*.

³ The words “ after giving your assent to the same ” would indicate that the grant had to be registered in the *Viṣaya* office.

The grantor of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty-thousand years: the robber of land, and he who assents to the robbery, go to hell for the same period.

Whoever robs lands granted by himself or by another rots as a worm in hell with his ancestors. Wherefore, let no man who understands all this destroy the reputation of others who grant lands, after pondering that life and prosperity are unstable like the drop of water on a lotus leaf.

Prosperity is like the flash of lightning; this body of ours is like the flame of a lamp. Life is hedged in by sorrow. Those who destroy the good deeds of others, reap nothing but bad repute; while the fame of those who maintain them is lasting as the sun and the moon. But what use of quoting texts? In this matter kings will do what appears to them best after reflection.

In the prosperous and victorious reign, year 32; days of Mārga, 12.

This plate has been engraved by the skilful Tātata, son of Subhata, grandson of Bhōgata.¹

¹ In translating the text, where it refers to the grantee, I have assumed Bhatta and Bhattāraka to be the same.—As regards the country of Lāta, it is interesting to note—that it is referred to in the Mandasōr Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 196). There we are told that the famous guild of silk-weavers who built the temple of the Sun at Daçapura originally came from the province of Lāta, which is described in these words :—

कुसुमभरानततद्वर

देवकुलसभाविहाररमनीयात् ।

लाटविषयान्नगादृतशैलान्

जगति प्रथितशिल्पाः ॥

ते देशपार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाश

मध्वादिजान्यविरलान्यस्तुखान्यपास्य ।

जानदरा दशपुरम्रथमम् मनोभिः

रन्वागताः ससुत वन्धुजनाः समेत्य ॥

This description seems to be applicable to Kannauj. Hiuen Tsiang saw a large temple of the Sun, built of blue stone, in Kannauj, on the bank of the Ganges, and it was probably in imitation of the same that the *Lāta* weavers built the temple of the Sun at Daçapura.

श्रीमान्धर्मपालदेवः ।

OBVERSE.

- L. 1 स्वस्ति
सर्वज्ञतां श्रियमिवस्थिरमास्थितस्य वच्चास
- L. 2 नस्य बज्जमारकुलोपलम्भाः ।
देव्या महाकरुणया परिपा
- L. 3 लितानि
रक्षन्तु वो दशवलानि दिशो जयन्ति ॥ [1]
श्रियइव सुभगा
- L. 4 याः सम्भवो वारिराशि
पुशुधरइव भासोविश्वमाक्लादयन्त्याः ।
प्रकृतिरवनिपानां सन्ततेरुत्तमाया
अ
- L. 5 जनिदयितविष्णुः सर्वविद्यावदातः ॥ [2]
आसीदासागरादुर्वीं गुर्वींभिः कीर्त्तिभिः कृती ।
मण्डयन्
- L. 6 खण्डितारातिः श्लाघ्यः श्रीवप्यटस्ततः ॥ [3]
मात्यन्यायमपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लक्ष्म्याः करग्राहितः
श्रीगोपा
- L. 7 ल इति क्षितीशशिरसां चूडामणिस्तत्सुतः ।
यस्यानुक्रियते सनातनयशोराशिर्दिशामाशये
श्वेतिम्ना य
- L. 8 दि पौर्णमासरजनीज्यो ल्क्षातिभारश्रिया ॥ [4]
शीतांशोरिवरोहिणीज्जतभुजः स्वाहेव तेजोनिधेः
शूर्वानी
- L. 9 वशिवस्य गुह्यकपतेर्भद्रेव भद्रात्मजा ।

पौलोमीव पुरन्दरस्य दयिताश्रीदेहदेवीत्यभूत्
देवीतस्य विनो

- L. 10 दभूर्सुररिपोर्लक्ष्मीरिवक्ष्मापतेः ॥ [5]
ताभ्यां श्रीधर्मपालः समजनिमुजनस्तूपमानावदानः
स्वामी भूमी
- L. 11 पतीनामखिलवसुमती मण्डलं शासदेकः ।
चत्वारस्तीरमज्जत्करिगणचरणान्यस्तमुद्राः समुद्रा
यात्रां य
- L. 12 स्य क्षमन्ते न भूवनपरिखाविश्वगाशाजिगीषोः ॥ [6]
यस्मिन्नुद्दामलीलाचलितवलकरे दिग्जयायप्रवृत्ते
यान्त्या
- L. 13 विश्वम्भरायां चलितगिरितिरश्चीनतां तदशेन ।
भाराभुग्नावमज्जन्मनिविधुरशिरश्चक्रसाहायकारं
शोषे
- L. 14 णोदस्तदोष्णात्वरितरमधोधस्तमेवानुयातम् ॥ [7]
यत्प्रस्थाने प्रचलितवलास्फालनादुल्ललद्धि
धूलीपूरैः पिहि
- L. 15 तसकलव्योमभिर्भू तधाच्याः ।
सम्प्राप्तायाः परमतनुतां चक्रवालं फणानां
मग्नीन्मीलन्मणिफणिपतेक्ष्मा
- L. 16 घवादुल्ललास ॥ [8]
विरुद्धविषयक्षोभाद् यस्य कोपाग्निरौर्ववत् ।
अनिर्वृति प्रजज्वालचतुरम्भोधिवारितः ॥ [9]
- L. 17 येऽभुवन्पृथुरामराघवनलप्रायाधरित्रीभुज
स्तान्वेकत्रदिहक्षुणेव निचितान्सर्वान्समवेधसा ।
ध्व
- L. 18 स्ताशेष नरेन्द्रमानमहिमा श्रीधर्मपालः कलौ
लोल श्रीकरिणीनिबन्धनमहास्तम्भः समुत्तम्भितः ॥ [10]

यासां

- L. 19 नासौरधूलिधवलदण्दिशां द्रागपश्यन्नियत्तां
धत्ते मान्धाटसैन्यव्यतिकरचकितो ध्यानतन्त्रीम्महेन्द्रः ।
- L. 20 तासामद्याहवेच्छापुलकितवपुषाम्बाहि नीनाम्बिधातुं
साहाय्यं यस्य वाह्वोर्निखिलरिपुकुलध्वंसिनोर्ना
- L. 21 वकाशः ॥ [11]
भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रैः कुरुयदयवनावन्ति गंधारकीरै
भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतः
- L. 22 साधुसङ्गीर्यमाणः ।
हृद्यत्पंचालवृद्धोद्धृतकनकमयस्त्राभिषेकोदकुम्भो
दत्तः श्रीकन्यकुजस्सललितच
- L. 23 लितभ्रूलतालक्ष्मणेन ॥ [12]
गोपैः सीम्निवनेचरैर्वनभूविग्रामोपकण्ठेजकैः
क्रोडङ्गिः प्रतिचत्वरंशिशुगणैः
- L. 24 प्रत्यापनस्थानपैः ।
लीलावेश्मनिपञ्जरोदरशुकैरुद्धीतमात्मस्तवं
यस्याकर्णयतस्त्रपाविचलितानम्रंस
- L. 25 दैवाननं ॥ [13]
स खलु भगीरथीपथप्रवर्तमाननानाविधनौवाटकसम्पादितसेतुबन्धनि
हितशैलशि-
- L. 26 खरश्रेणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मी
समारब्धसन्नतजलदस-
- L. 27 मयसन्देहात् उदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्रभृतीकृताप्रमेयहयवाहिनीखरखु
रोत्वातधूलिधूसरित दि-
- L. 28 गन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायातसमस्तजम्बुद्वीपभूपालानंतपादातभर
नमदवनेः पाटलीपू-
- L. 29 त्रसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतोमहाराजाधिराजश्री
गोपालदेवपादानूध्यातः प-

- L. 30 रमेश्वरः परमभद्रारको महाराजाधिराज श्रीमान्धर्मपालदेवः कुशली ॥
श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनमु-
- L. 31 त्वन्तःपातियाघ्रतटीमण्डलसम्बद्धमहन्ताप्रकाशविषये क्रौञ्चश्वभ्रनाम ग्रा-
मोऽस्य च सीमा पश्चि-
- L. 32 मेन गङ्गिनिका उत्तरेण कादम्बरीदेवकुलिका खर्जूरवृक्षश्च । पूर्वोत्तरेण
राजपुत्र देवटक्कतालिः । वी-
- L. 33 जपूरकङ्कत्वाप्रविष्टा पूर्वेण विटकालिः खातक यानिकांगत्वाप्रविष्टा जम्बु-
यानिकामाक्रम्य जम्बुयानकं

REVERSE.

- L. 34 गता । ततो निस्त्य पुण्यारामविल्वार्द्ध श्रोतिका । ततो पि निस्त्य न-
- L. 35 लचर्मटोत्तरान्तं गता । नलचर्मटात् दक्षिणेन नामुण्डिकायिके
- L. 36 . . . कायाः खण्डमुण्डमुखं खण्डमुखावेदसविल्विका वेदविल्विकान्तो रो-
हितवादिः पिण्डारविटि जोटिका सीमा-
- L. 37 कारजोटस्य दक्षिणान्तः ग्रामविल्वस्य च दक्षिणान्तः देविका सीमा
विटि । धर्मा योजोटिका । एवमाठाशाम्मलीना-
- L. 38 मग्रामः अस्य चोत्तरेण गङ्गिनिकासीमा ततः पूर्वोत्तरेण श्रोतिकया आम्र-
यानकोलार्द्धयानिकङ्कतः त-
- L. 39 तोपि दक्षिणेन कालिका श्वभ्रः । अतोपि निस्त्य श्रीफलभिषुकं यावत्
पश्चिमेन ततोपि विल्वङ्कोर्द्ध श्रोति-
- L. 40 कया गङ्गिनिकां प्रविष्टा । पालितके सीमा दक्षिणेन काणादीपिका ।
पूर्वेण कौण्डिण्यास्रोतः उत्तरेण
- L. 41 गङ्गिनिका । पश्चिमेन जैनन्यायिका । एतद् ग्रामसंपारीण परकर्मकदीपं ।
स्थालीक्कटविषयस-
- L. 42 म्बद्धाम्रघण्डिकामण्डलांत पाति गोपिप्पल्लीग्रामस्य सीमा पूर्वेण उड्रग्राम-
मण्डलपश्चिमसीमा । दक्षि-
- L. 43 णेन जोलकः पश्चिमेन वैशानिकाख्याखाटिका । उत्तरेनोड्रग्राममण्डलसी
माव्यवस्थितो गोमार्गः एषु च-

- L. 44 तुरघुग्रामेषुसमुपागतान्सर्वानेव राजराजनकराजपुत्र राजामात्य सेनापति
विषयपति भोगपति षष्टाधि-
- L. 45 द्रुतदण्डशक्ति दण्डपाणिकचौरोद्धरणिक दोस्साधसाधनिक दूतखोलगमा-
गमिकाभित्तरमान हस्त्यश्वगो महिष्यजा-
- L. 46 विक्राध्यक्ष नाकाध्यक्ष वलाध्यक्ष तरिक शौलिक गौलिक तदायुक्तक
विनियुक्तकादि राजपादो पञ्जीविनोऽन्यांश्चाकीर्त्ति-
- L. 47 तान् चाटभटजातीयान् यथाकालाध्यासिनो ज्येष्ठकायस्थ महामहत्तर
महत्तर दाशग्रामिकादि विषय व्यवहारिणः
- L. 48 सकरणान् प्रतिवासिनः क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणमाननापूर्वकं यथार्हमानयति
बोधयति समाज्ञापयति च । मतमस्तु
- L. 49 भवतांमहासामन्ताधिपति श्रीनारायणवर्मणा दूतक युवराज श्रीत्रिभुवन
पालमुखेनवयमेवम्विज्ञापिताः यथाऽस्मा-
- L. 50 भिर्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धयेऽभस्यल्यां देवकूलं कारितन्तत्र प्र-
तिष्ठापितभगवन्नुन्न*नारायणभट्टारकाय तत्प्र-
- L. 51 तिपालकलाटद्विजदेवार्चकादि पादमूलसमेताय पूजापस्थानादिकर्मने चतु-
रोग्रामान् अत्रत्य हट्टिका तल(पा)वाटक-
- L. 52 समेतान् ददातु देव इति । ततोऽस्माभिस्तदीय विज्ञप्त्याएते उपरिलिखित-
काञ्चत्वारोग्रामास्तल(पा)वाटकहट्टिकासमेताः स्व-
- L. 53 सीमापर्यन्ताः सोद्देशाः सदशापचाराश्च किञ्चित्प्रग्राह्याः परिहृतसर्व-
पीडाः भूमिक्लिन्न्यायेनचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं
- L. 54 तथैव प्रतिष्ठापिताः । यतोभवद्भिस्सर्वैरेव भूमेर्दानफलगौरवादपहरणे च
महानरकपातादिभयात् दानमिदमनुमे-
- L. 55 द्यपरिपालनीयं प्रतिवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञाश्रवण विधेयै भूत्वा समुचित-
करपिण्डकादिसर्वप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्यं
- L. 56 इति ॥

वज्रभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [1]

षष्ठिर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मे

L. 57

दति भूमिदः ।

आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [2]

खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।

सविष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा पितु

L. 58

भिः सह पच्यते ॥ [3]

इतिकमलदलाखुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्यमनुष्यजीवितं च ।

सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्चवध्वा नहि पुरु

L. 59

धैः परकीर्त्तयोविलोप्याः ॥ [4]

तडित्तुल्या लक्ष्मी तनुरपि च दीपानलसमा

भवोदुःखैकान्तः परकृतिमकीर्त्तिः क्षपयताम् ।

यश्च

L. 60

श्चाचन्द्राक्का नियतमवतामत्र च नृपाः

करिष्यन्ते बुद्धा यदभिरुचितं किम्प्रवचनैः ॥ [5]

अभिवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये

L. 61

सम्बत् ३२ मार्गदिनानि १२ ॥

(At bottom of reverse.)

L. 62

श्रीभोगटस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमत्सुभटसूनुना ।

श्रीमतातातटेनेदं उत्कीर्णगुणशालिना ॥ [1]

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The preceding note was written on the assumption that the grantee, whose name appears in the copper-plate as Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭā-raka, was the same person as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra. As doubts have been expressed about the correctness of this identification, I proceed briefly to state the reasons on which it is based.

The proper name of the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra was Nārāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa was his title. Thus, in a genealogical work, called Bārēndra Kula Pañjī, we find him described as follows :—

नारायणाख्यो यस्तेषां

शाण्डिल्य गोत्र एव सः

In another genealogical work called Kula Rāma, he is called शाण्डिल्य गोत्रज श्रेष्ठो भट्टनारायणः कविः ।

The title Bhaṭṭa could be added either at the beginning or at the end of the name proper, and it would be correct to speak of him either as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Indeed in some MSS. of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra the author is called नारायण भट्ट, while in others he is called भट्ट नारायण. Numerous instances can be cited where the title Bhaṭṭa comes after the name proper. Thus, बेताल भट्ट, वाण भट्ट, कुल्लूक भट्ट, &c., &c. The third in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a person-age who bore the name of जयमणि भट्ट.

Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the famous commentator of the Institutes of Manu, in describing his own genealogy, writes as follows :—

गौडे नन्दनवासि नाम्नि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्रां कुले

श्रीमद् भट्ट दिकारस्य तनयः कुल्लूकभट्टोऽभवत् ।

Thus, while the father was called Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the son was called Kullūka Bhaṭṭa.

The next point is the connection between Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭāraka. Here I may quote the authority of Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, that Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭāraka are really interchangeable terms. That learned scholar in translating the copper-plate grant of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, rendered the शिव भट्टारक of that plate as Çiva Bhaṭṭa. See Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, p. 274. I however, do not follow him blindly. भट्ट, भट्टार, भट्टारक and भट्टिनौ form a group of words with a common root. Grammarians by no means agree about the correct root. About the signification of the words, however, there is no difference of opinion. Bhaṭṭa means a Paṇḍit learned in the Vēda: it also means a lord. The late Professor Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati defined the meaning thus: स्वामित्वे वेदाभिज्ञे पण्डिते च । The same authority derives भट्टार thus: भट्टं स्वामित्वम् ऋच्छति which means one who obtains lordship, and he gives the meaning as पञ्चे. The word भट्टारक is the same as भट्टार with a स्वार्थे क, i. e., with a क which does not change its meaning at all. According to the Amara Koṣa राजा भट्टारको देवः are synonymous words. Professor Tarkavācaspati adds that this use of the word is mostly confined to dramatic speech, and we find that in this sense, it has been applied to the grantor Dharma Pāla in our copper-plate. According to the Mēdinī (as quoted by the same learned Professor) भट्टारक also means a तपोधन or a pious Brāhmaṇa; and therefore, in the copper-plate we find it equally applied to the grantee Nārāyaṇa. The real connection between the words भट्ट and भट्टारक however is disclosed by the feminine form भट्टिनौ which is thus described by Professor Tarkavācaspati: भट्टिनौ स्त्री० भट्टं

स्वामित्वमस्यास्ति इति ङीप् । विप्र भार्येयाम्, नाट्योक्तौ अकृताभिषेकायां राज्ञः स्त्रियां च ।
Thus the feminine form is applied indifferently to a king's wife or to a Brāhman's wife.

I am inclined to think that the words भट्ट and भट्टार are really the Prākṛit forms of the Sanskrit word भर्ता (vocative भर्त) or भर्तैर. They seem to be radically connected with the Bangālī word भानार husband. That they were really Prākṛit words is indicated by the fact that they were mostly used in dramatic speech. Being in common use, the words forced recognition even from Paṇḍits and were sanskritized. The derivation points to an individual who "supported" others. A learned Brāhmaṇa, who supported a host of pupils or dependants was a भट्ट or भट्टार or भट्टारक; and a Rājā who supported many people was a भट्टारक or lord: and the wife of both was a भट्टिनी ।

It will thus appear that philologically there is no difference between Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka.

The question still remains whether the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra is identical with our Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. If we looked to the copper-plate alone the point might remain doubtful: but as pointed out in the preceding note, fortunately we possess independent evidence, from which we know that the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra was really a contemporary of Dharma Pāla. The value of the copper-plate lies in confirming this evidence.

The copper-plate shows that very intimate relations subsisted between Dharma Pāla, and the king of Kannauj, the former having restored the latter to his throne. That a poet of the Pañcāla country as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was, should be patronized by Dharma Pāla need not therefore surprise us. There are one or two points in the Vēṇī Saṁhāra itself, that deserve mention in this connection. We have already alluded to the Ṣṭōka in which the poet deplores the decay of the poetic art through want of royal patronage in his own native country. I think the Vēṇī Saṁhāra was composed in the native land of the poet. In the concluding verse he pointedly solicited the patronage of his king in the following lines:—

दयित-मुवनो विद्वद्भुगुणेषु विशेषवित् ।

सततं लुक्ती भूयाद् भूपः प्रसाधितमण्डलः ॥

He hoped that his own king, the king of Kannauj, would be a विद्वद्भु and befriend a learned man like himself; that he would be a गुणेषु विशेषवित् and appreciate the special merit of his own work, which was evidently composed to rouse the martial spirit of his countrymen. Kannauj we know was then laid low at the feet of enemies; and the

patriotic Bhaṭṭa wished that the Pāñcālas should rise against their enemies, and make an effort to regain their freedom. He was, however, disappointed in his hopes: and when he came to a foreign country to seek that royal patronage which was denied to him in his own, he pathetically exclaimed काव्यालापसुभाषित व्यसनिक्ले राजहंसा गताः &c!

Many MSS. of the drama end with the verse सततसूक्तती भूयाद् भूपः प्रसाधितमण्डलः ॥ I think the drama as originally composed, ended here: but in the MSS. current in Bengal we have the following additional verse:

अपि च,

अवनिभवनिपालाः पान्तु वृष्टिं विधत्तां
जगति जलधराली शस्य पूर्णास्तु भूमिः ।
त्वयि सुरनरकारौ भक्तिरद्वैतयोगाद्
भवतु ममसुदीर्घं हव्यमश्नन्तु देवाः ॥

It is a remarkable fact that in the MSS. current in Western India this verse is wanting.

Now the words at the beginning of this verse seem distinctly to refer to the Pālas. We know that the Pālas were frequently called भूपाल, क्षापाल, or अवनिपाल. The dynasty being called भूपालवंश the founder of it गोपाल even came to be called भूपाल by many authors. In the copper-plate itself Dayita Viṣṇu, the progenitor of the family, is called प्रकृतिरवनिपानां. The words अवनिभवनिपालाः पान्तु therefore, seem to mean “May the Pāla princes continue to rule over this earth;” otherwise if we understand by the words “May kings rule over the earth” the meaning would be most trivial. I am of opinion that this very interesting verse, the full meaning of which now dawns upon us for the first time, was composed after the poet settled in Bengal. It was, in fact, his benediction to the Pāla king who bestowed on him the four villages.

And as to the grant of the four villages there is a very significant passage in the drama. Thus, in the first act, in the message of peace of which Kṛṣṇa was the bearer, Yudhiṣṭira thus addresses the Kaurava monarch—

इन्द्रप्रस्थं वकप्रस्थं जयन्तं वारणावतम् ।

देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान् पञ्चमं कञ्चिदेव तु ॥

Now, when the drama was acted in Bengal, it was this characteristic passage which, it seems to me, suggested the grant of four villages to the poet. देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान् was interpreted by the patrons of the poet as the expression of his own desire. And, what is also very striking,—

we find that among the villages granted to the poet the very first village is called कौञ्च which sounds much like वकप्रस्थ, कौञ्च and वक meaning the same thing.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka in the copper-plate cannot from the adjectives attached to it mean the God Nārāyaṇa. It plainly refers to some person whose name was Nārāyaṇa, who was deemed a holy man, and who had come as a guest to the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas. Everything therefore points to the identity of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka with Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra.

I am aware that some think Lāṭa to have been in Gujarāt. In Dr. Bühler's article on Inscriptions from Kāvī, see *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 145, we read that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Govinda II made over the Lāṭeṣvara Maṇḍala to his brother Indra. Govinda II seems to have been a conqueror, and he seems to have led a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Gujarāt. That need not make us think that Lāṭa was in Gujarāt. The Lāṭeṣvara Maṇḍala above referred to, was probably the kingdom of Kannauj itself: and Indra who received the Lāṭeṣvara Maṇḍala from Govinda II, was probably the very Indra Rāja whom Dharma Pāla conquered, according to the copper-plate of Nārāyaṇa Pāla.—Govinda II was alive in Çāka 730 = 808 A. D., and was thus a contemporary of Dharma Pāla. I am strongly inclined to think that the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas to whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came were really Kannauj Brahmaṇas.